1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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may be a fictitious explanation of the rule which forbids intermarriage between members of the moieties, a rule which may have been based on reasons other than those of blood relationship. The Agbat clan has a triple division, viz. Gbar Kokwak (Kwak), Kpaisa and Nje, but it was stated that the division was originally dual, the Nje being strangers who were adopted at a later date.

The sub-clans are composed of kindreds (*kwai* or *bin*), the term kindred being used here to describe the unilateral grouping of a number of families related through the father. Thus the Aswen sub-clan consists of the following kindreds: (1) Amurum-Alan, (2) Yagofo, (3) Awai, (4) Magamiya, (5) Kofo. Here again the organization was in the first instance dual, consisting of two moieties Amurum-Alan and Yagofo, the former being the religious, the latter the political chiefs. The Awai were adopted into the clan as a reward, it is said, for having taught the Amurum-Alan and Yagofo people the art of skinning animals, the Amurum-Alan and Yagofo having previously been in the habit of roasting animals with the skin on. Magamiya and Kofo were also adopted, the former being immigrants from the Ikulu tribe and the latter from the Kagoro of Kabbanchan.

The small clans of Aku and Shokwa have no sub-clan organization and appear to consist of a number of kindreds or adopted groups. There does not appear to be any formal rite of initiation into the clan. A boy learns the rules of exogamy as soon as he reaches the age of puberty, and is shown the costume of the local tutelary genius when he has learnt to use the hoe. The kindreds are, of course, exogamous.

The following tables summarize (*a*) the kinship and (*b*) the territorial groupings:—

(*a*) KINSHIP GROUPINGS

Clan.	*Sub-Clan.*	*Kindreds and Adopted Groups.*
Minyam	Fakan	Setiin, Abio, Inyap, Agidda.
	Aswen	Amurum-Alan, Yagofo, Awai, Magemmi, Kofo.
Agbat	Gbar	Angwai, Tainchen, Telen.
	Kpaisa	?
	Nje	Akwafu, Gaya, Jaba.
Aku	—	Asalio, Akuzan, Akuchon.
Shokwa	—	Kuzat, Kamantam.

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612 793 powers would in the long run conquer, and his disobedient kinsmen, fearing this curse, would come to him repentently, putting ashes on their heads. In political matters he has no authority, as the political chiefship always runs in another branch. He has, therefore, no say in such matters as the apportionment of taxes, handing over of criminals, cleaning of roads, etc. The civil chief [1] might, however, ask his advice, or in courtesy report to him the steps he had taken. If the kindred [596] consists of more than one extended family,[2] each extended family has also its head, to whom all the members of the family look for guidance. In addition to the social and political headships, [624] there are (always in different branches of the kindred) various other hereditary headships. Thus one branch may have charge of the *obwai* cult, another of the control of rains, another of leechcraft, another of hunting operations and the preparation of arrow poisons, another of the young men, sending them out in a body to work on roads or to take part in a day's collective work on a farm, or to provide music at a festival, and so on. The Katab is a great believer in the specialization of social [591] functions. It is to be noted that a kindred may include among its residential members married sisters and their husbands and children who have for various reasons decided to abandon their own group.

621 *The Village-Area.*—The kindreds are fairly well localized in village-areas, but any village-area may include members belonging to some other kindred than the principal kindred of the village. The following example will illustrate the composition of a typical Katab village.

621 162 The village (Kibori, Aswen sub-clan), containing 191 persons, was found to consist of 27 compounds or an average of 7 persons per compound. Twenty of the 27 households belonged to the Aswen sub-clan, 4 belonged to a neighbouring clan, and 3 belonged to a neighbouring tribe. There were 37 married men and 56 married women, or the high proportion of 1·6 wives to each husband. The reason for this was that the villagers, being

[1] The existing institution of civil chiefs is probably an innovation due to the dominating influence established by the Kauru dynasty over the Katab tribe.
[2] It is difficult to draw a hard and fast distinction between the terms "kindred" and "extended family" as used in this chapter. The term "kindred" designates the group intermediate (where there is an intermediate group) between the extended family and the sub-clan.

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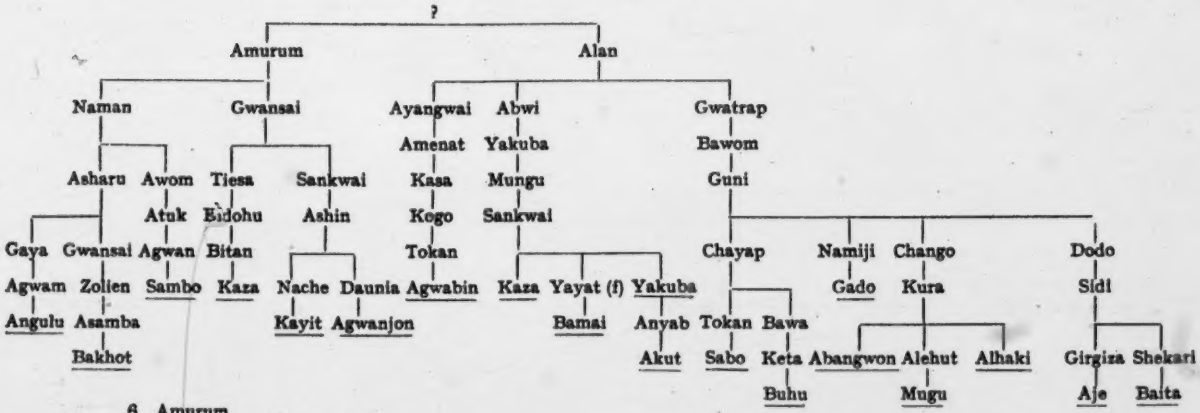
TABLE I

GENEALOGY OF ASWEN KINDRED (AMURUM-ALAN)



6 Amurum
13 Alan

Total = 19

(Those underlined are at present living, and are heads of compounds.)

[Page 14]

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avoid hostility between neighbouring groups. The residents of one group elope with or abduct the wives of residents of a neighbouring group, and vice versa. Hostility results, and in time the group agrees to abandon wife-stealing,[1] and to exchange daughters instead. A man is thus debarred from marrying the daughters of his own community, as they are required for the neighbouring community. This process becomes extended to other communities, and all the communities become in time merged into a single exogamous clan. We can see this process at work among the Katab and neighbouring tribes. It may be objected that among the Katab we have a clear example of a reverse process, for within the clan we have sub-clans which elope with each others' wives. But the answer would appear to be that the sub-clans are in process of becoming clans, and will eventually abandon the stealing of wives from each other. There was clear evidence of this tendency in the statement made by several men of the Nje sub-clan that they would prefer to give up the practice of eloping with the wives of the men of Kpaisa and marry their daughters instead, and that they were only prevented from carrying this suggestion into practice by the old men of the two sub-clans concerned, who would, of course, regard the proposal as incestuous.

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There is a further factor which tends to induce groups which practise elopement marriages to give up the practice, and that is the frequent uncertainty as to the paternity of a child born to a runaway wife. The Katab have numerous rules for meeting this difficulty (as will be seen later), but a margin of uncertainty still remains, and it may well be on this account that a clan organization tends to spring into existence, or, where it is already in existence, that sections of a clan each tend to become separate clans.

583 851

When we come to the sub-divisions of the sub-clan we find considerable variations, elopement marriages being sometimes permissible and sometimes not. Thus in the Aswen sub-clan, which consists of the following groups, each occupying its own territory, (*a*) Alan-Amurum, (*b*) Yagofo, (*c*) Awai, (*d*) Magamiya, and (*e*) Kofo, (*a*), (*b*), (*c*), and (*e*) refrain from eloping with each others' wives, and this rule even applies to women who were formerly wives of (*a*), (*b*), (*c*), or (*e*), and have since gone elsewhere.

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[1] For instances of this see later notes on the Kagoro tribe.

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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582 All abduct the wives of (*d*), and vice versa. Both Magamiya and Kofo are of foreign origin, but no reason was assigned for the 583 difference in treatment accorded to each. It is said that in 612 bygone days (*a*) and (*b*) used to abduct the wives of (*c*), but the practice was abandoned when (*c*) became numerically strong. (*a*) and (*b*) have at no time eloped with each others' wives, because they consider themselves to be blood-relatives. In the sub-clan of Fakan the only communities which may elope with each others' wives are the towns of Zonzon and Sako. But the Bobai kindred of Zonzon will not elope with the wife of any Sako man, and vice versa, on the ground of blood-relationship. There does not appear to be any wife abduction between the sub-divisions of Shokwa. As regards Aku, the Akuzan and Akuchan do not elope with each others' wives, but I omitted to obtain information as to the conduct of these two sections towards the third section, viz. Asalio.

601 *Terms of Relationship and Social Regulations.*—The terms of relationship of the Katab tribe are given in the following lists. The terms are used by both males and females, except where otherwise stated :—

Atio is applied to a father, father's brothers, mother's brothers (for whom the term *angat* is also used), father's and mother's sister's husband, husband's father, husband's father's brother, and husband's mother's brother.

Ayang is applied to a mother, father's sisters, mother's sisters, father's and mother's brother's wife, husband's mother, father's co-wife.

Ngwan is applied to a son, daughter, brother's child, sister's child, husband's brother's child, wife's brother's child, husband's sister's child, wife's sister's child, brother's son's wife.

Nanyuk is applied to full or half-brothers and sisters, father's brother's child, father's sister's child, mother's brother's child, mother's sister's child. It is also a general term for " relative ". Elder and younger brothers (or sisters), are distinguished by the terms *nkwop* (or *neohwop*) and *shisho*. The term *ngwanaiyuk*, i.e. child of my brother (or sister), is a more particular term to describe nephews and nieces.

Atio-hwop is applied to father's or mother's father, father's mother's brother, father's father's brother, mother's mother's brother, mother's father's brother. The term *nungvanu* or " wife stealer " is also applied by a male to all relatives classed as *atiohwop* and they apply that term to him. A female applies the term *atuok* or " husband " to all relatives classed as *atiohwop* and they apply to her the term *aviyuk* or " wife ".

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MORWA

Where the plural prefix *Ma* is used, it is applied to people of alien origin and inferior birth. The Morwa do not themselves use these typically Bantu prefixes, but many Nigerian tribes in speaking of themselves use the Bantu plural prefix *Ba*. The Kaje, for example, who are neighbours of the Morwa, call themselves the Ba-ju, the Ikulu the Bakulu, and so on. The Morwa speak the same language as the Katab.

The Morwa are an independent tribe, though they were apparently subject in ancient days to the Habe kings of Zaria and certainly during the last century to the Beri-Beri and Fulani dynasties of Zaria. The tribe seems at one time to have been located slightly further to the north (at Yelwa) and to have been driven south by Zaria slave-raiders. The plain they now occupy is very fertile, and is flanked by the Kagoro hills which offered a safe retreat in time of war.

The ruling family resides at Manchok, and the present chief states that his family came originally from Kabanchan, a Kagoro town in the Madaiki's district of Jemaa. The earliest settlers were the kindred known as the Ye-Lutsi who migrated to Manchok from Tankurang (Yelwa) across the Zaria-Plateau provincial boundary sometime last century. In this kindred is vested the priestly functions, and we have thus at Manchok the bisection so commonly found, into (*a*) the earliest settlers and custodians of the religious rites, (*b*) the ruling family, a later arrival.

The district consists of a number of village-areas of which the principal are Manchok (with Kisagwai), Beniki, Bandong, Chori, Agbwat (Babban Gidda), Matok, Gora, Bungen, Zankan, Mahuta, and Chonbano. All these are inhabited almost entirely by Asolio. Included in the district also are a number of villages inhabited by members of the neighbouring Ataka tribe. There is also a village called Nandiyam which consists of both Asolio and of Katab. There is free intermarriage between the Asolio and the sections which belong to other tribes, the marriages taking the form either of marriages with girls or of elopement with married women. In the latter case there is the usual rule that wife-stealing is not permissible among those living in close proximity, whether they belong to the same tribe or not.

The social organization is, as among the Kagoro and Katab, of a dual character, i.e. there is the kinship grouping and there

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is the grouping for purposes of wife-stealing. The kinship group consists in its simplest form of a kindred, i.e. of a number of families living in close proximity who are related to each other patrilineally. In its more complex form it consists of a clan, and is composed of a number of kindreds not always occupying the same territory who believe themselves to be related, but whose relationship is incapable of proof by means of pedigrees. The clan is exogamous, and *a fortiori* so is the kindred. Individuals are also debarred from marrying any close relative of their mother. The wife-stealing group coincides in one instance with a single clan, but in the two remaining instances is composed of two separate clans. The organization may be shown as follows, but owing to the short time spent among the Morwa (two days only) I was unable to test by genealogies the accuracy of the information given.

Wife-stealing Unit.	*Clan.*	*Territorial Units.*
Ye-Lutsi	Ye-Lutsi	Bangen and sections of the villages of Kisagwai, Chonbano, Chori, Mahuta, and Manchok.
Ne-Sa	Manchok (?)	Manchok, Kajim, and sections of the villages of Zankan and Nandiyan.
	Kajim	
Ne-Zam	Ekwopang	Bandong.
	Ekutai (?)	Beniki and sections of Zankan, Kisagwai, Mahuta, and Kaura.

Now firstly, as regards marriages with girls, no one may marry the daughter of a member of his own clan, and no one may marry the daughter of a member of another clan from whom wives are stolen. Secondly, the members of one clan of a wife-stealing unit do not steal the wives of members of the other clan of the same wife-stealing unit, nor do they steal the wives of members of their own clan. Thirdly, if one clan of a wife-stealing unit A marries the daughters of a clan of another wife-stealing unit B, the other clan of A steals the wives of B and vice versa. There is also a proviso that no one may steal the wife of a member of his own village-area. The village of Beniki does not seem to fall in with the general arrangement, and it thus incurs the censure of the other communities, in the

cultivable. The population statistics according to the latest (1947) tax count are:— 162

Kagoro	...	8,999
Katabawa	...	1,713
Attakar	...	689
Hausa	...	279
Ibo	...	107
Others	...	79
Total		11,866

The Katabawa come from the neighbouring Zangon Katab district of the Zaria Emirate, the Attakar from the neighbouring Moroa district, the Hausa are mainly traders and their families and the Ibos are immigrant Railway employees. [563]

History. 18. Originally the Kagoro lived in their strongholds amongst the high and almost inaccessible hills of the district. They had small patches of farms in these hills but their main farmlands were on the fertile plains at the foot of the hills. These farms were the subject of constant raids by the Fulani and in pre-British times were no more than a precarious utilisation of the no-man's land between the unconquered hills in which the Kagoro resided and the conquered Katab lands farther north. It was only when the British came that permanent settlement of these plains became possible. 175

Social structure. 19. An attempt was made to correlate the social structure of the tribe with the present day territorial sub-divisions of the district. The tribe would appear to consist of two distinct clans, the Ankwei and the Kpashan. These two clans are sub-divided into various kindreds. Except for the Kukum Kpashan with whom, for some unfathomable reason, other Kphashan may marry the Kpashan clan is exogamous and may only marry members of the Ankwei clan. The Ankwei clan is not exogamous though the kindreds into which it is divided are. The district is divided into eleven territorial (village) units. There were twelve until last year when the territorial unit of Tum, whose inhabitants are Katab, was absorbed into the senior territorial unit of Fada and thus lost its separate identity. Appendix " C " shews the occurrence, within these territorial units, of each of the kindreds. But though it was admitted that certain territorial units might contain a preponderance of one or more particular kindreds it was impossible to say, owing to migration and intermingling, that any *particular kindred or kindreds* had any prescriptive rights to the land within that unit. 614 621 612 423 Appendix C.

[p. 4]

175 311 241 612 423 20. An explanation of this state of affairs is to be found in the historical background. In pre-British times when the Kagoro lived in the hills and came down to farm the plains it was the customary practice for a kindred or even a family group to farm lands in several widely dispersed areas and not in one compact block. The idea was that all the family eggs should not be in the same basket. If one particular area happened to be raided by the Fulani then, though the kindred or family might lose the produce of one particular farm, they would have other farms in other areas to fall back on; whereas had they been farming in only one place and in one compact block they would have lost everything they had. Consequently when the British rule brought peace and security the kindreds did not come down from the hills to settle in single compact blocks but came down to their split up and dispersed farms over the whole of the area. Whether or not the concept of a kindred holding of the land may have existed in the past it is certain that it does not exist now. It would have been undermined from the very start.

Breakdown to individual tenure.

423 311 596 888 21. The breakdown has gone much farther than the kindred. Whereas up to about twenty years ago it could truthfully have been said that it was the exception to the rule to find a man and his immediate family living and farming on his own, it is now the exception to the rule to find an extended family or family group living and farming together. In two cases that were investigated in the field it was found that the " family " lands had been divided up while the father was still alive. In the one case the father was too old to farm and in the second had suffered an injury some ten years ago which had prevented him from carrying on strenuous farming. In both cases the father was relatively hale and hearty and quite alert of mind. Nevertheless they were both prepared, since they could take no active part in the farming of the land themselves, to wash their hands of the matter and give their adult children their portion of the family lands. The only say they retained in the matter was in respect of the minor's portion and the division of the fallow lands. Fallow would not be divided up until it was actually required when as much as was required would be allotted to the son and this would then come under his control. Discussion with responsible opinion confirmed that this was a general practice and was quite common and widespread.

651 596 162 476 22. An interesting check on the above is available from the tax lists. These lists show, together with the name of each 'householder', the name of each adult tax payer living in the compound. It was confirmed by the District Head and Elders that where in the list a number of adult males were listed

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563 58. The Kaje elements to be found in this district live near the eastern border adjoining the main body of the Kaje tribe living in the Zangon Katab district. They live partly within the Hausa enclave—the Gumel and Mazuga villages—and partly within the Jabawa tribal lands. Those in the Jabawa area live on *borrowed* lands; those in the Hausa enclave on their *own* lands through which the administrative boundary cuts. This is a point which may lead to confusion at some future date. [61] The Kadara are similarly situated. The main body of Kadara who number some 21,246 in the Province are to be found in the adjoining Kajuru district. The district boundary runs through the tribal area—probably for reasons stated in paragraph 14 above and because a purely tribal boundary for administrative purpose would be very complicated and produce little effective difference, *qua* administration. The Kuturmi are an interesting relic. They are said to have come originally from Kano City and are a branch of the Kutumbawa who reside there to this present day.

Jabawa tenure Kachia District.

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621 59. The pattern of tenure amongst the Kachia Jaba is very similar to that obtaining with the Kwoi Jaba. There are, however, two very significant differences. We have seen (paragraph 44 above) that with the Kwoi Jaba it was impossible to correlate the social pattern with the land pattern. In the Kachia district the Jaba almost at once stated that their five territorial village units were, except for a minor amount of interchange, identical with the five kindreds of the tribe. The Wenyum kindred were to be found in Gidan Tagwai village unit, Dun in Jaban Kogo, Kudak in Kwaturu, Chorr in Kurmin Musa and Ngeh at Gidan Jibir. Members of the latter two kindreds, they stated, would be found amongst the Jaba Kwoi but none of the first three.

Breakdown to individual tenure has pronounced.

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556 60. The second significant difference is in the extent of the breakdown to the individual basis. Whereas in Kwoi individual farming was the rule and not the exception in the Kachia district farming on a family basis was the rule with the Jaba and individual holdings the exception. This difference is well known to the Jaba themselves who explain it thus. The Jaba Kwoi are a poverty stricken people who can only run to one wife apiece as a normal rule whereas they can run to four or five—even ten on occasions. The Jaba Kwoi youths are an irresponsible lot who go running off to the mines to make money and do not look after their lands properly; their own youths stay at home and become good farmers on the family lands. Shades of the ' resistance movement ' that lead to the ancestors of the Jaba Kwoi continuing the struggle when their weaker brethren succumbed!

61. The truth of the matter is as stated in paragraph 44 above. The Jaba who accepted the Fulani domination retained their tribal lands. They still have them. And there are acres and acres to spare. Those who resisted were squeezed into the remnants of land to the South where there was little or any to spare. Pressure of population, incipient land hunger and the spirit of independence, which must have been there, have led to the individualisation of the Jaba Kwoi and accelerated the breakdown to individual tenure. The youths would not go off to the mines if there was abundance at home on the lands available to them. Their relations across the border have had none of this to cope with. Nor did they have their social structure rudely broken up and disintegrated. 184 178

612 ●
Kindred holding of lands still existent.

62. The fact remains, however, that within the Emirate the kindred concept remains and is still operative.

63. Amongst the Kachia Jaba the land pattern is similar to that of the Jaba Kwoi, *i.e.*, compact hamlets or villages standing in the middle of their farmlands and outside these farmlands the villages " spare " lands. The Kagoro, Kaje and Katab do not live together in villages but prefer the small scattered hamlet and isolated farms. Amongst the Kagoro all lands were " allocated "; even the spare bush. Such is not the case with the Kachia Jaba; nor would it be the case, probably, amongst the Jaba Kwoi—had they any spare lands. The spare lands form a general pool for the particular unit within which they lie, *i.e.*, for the kindred. Any member of the kindred has a right to take up sufficient of the spare lands to meet his needs; but he must first of all obtain the Village Head's consent. A Wenyum man has the right to take up the lands he needs in the Wenyum Unit and, on allocation, the lands become inheritable by his kith and kin. A man of the Dun kindred who desired to take up spare lands in the Wenyum Unit would only be loaned the lands and it would always remain a loan. It would never become land of the Dun kindred. A Wenyum man who had inherited or been allocated land in the Wenyum Unit would be entitled to loan it to someone else, either from within or outside his kindred, without asking for anyone's consent. But he could neither give it nor sell it to anyone else, *i.e.*, he could do nothing that would deprive the kindred of its ultimate rights in the land. [621] [361] 423 612

Sub-division and inheritance.

64. Though the normal procedure is for farms to remain undivided until the father's death nevertheless, if a son demanded it and was married and of sufficient standing, the father would have to give him his share of the family holding. Women have no share or rights in a farm. Both farm and fallow are divided up; but there is no question of unallocated lands being divided up. A farm once 423 [428] 593

probably explains why the Katab scene consists of so many isolated single compounds widely scattered throughout the country side. There are no large villages or small towns. 241 423 361

84. There are few aspects of the Kaje land tenure system which would not be familiar to either the Katab or the Kagoro. There is the same gradual breakdown to an individual basis—though perhaps not to the same extent; the same denial to the individual of any right to alienate permanently lands which he has inherited and is expected to pass on to his inheritors; the acknowledgement of a system of loaning with the token brewing of beer—a social obligation; the same attitude to the building of a house on borrowed lands and the same grace period for farming after he has removed his house. Pledge is not known. Kaje tenure. 423 178

85. The principal deviation from the Katab is in the vesting of the final authority in land matters. Here the Kaje system is almost identical with the Jaba of Kachia. The kindred as distinct from the tribal elders claim the final say. Authority in land matters. 184 423

86. Details of the kindreds and the territorial village units are:— 612 621 614

(*i*) Tsok—Fadan Kaje
Fadia
(*ii*) Dwan—Zuturu
Zonkwa
(*iii*) Turun—Firman
(*iv*) Tadon—Madakia
(*v*) Bin—Suriyan
(*vi*) Afwun—Afana
Ungwar Rimi
Marsah
Kamerun

[It is of interest to note, in parenthesis, that my anthropology may be a bit wrong. On returning from the area the following reference from an old report by Brice-Smith was discovered (1922):—

"The tribe is still in the family stage of evolution. As soon as an individual has made his position sufficiently strong by marriage he moves off and starts a hamlet by himself and no longer recognises the tribal head".

He correlates the 'clans' and territorial units as:—

Bainduang (leopard totem)—*Zonkwa*, *Zuturu*, Kurmin Bi. Madaichi
Baintso (crocodile totem)—*Fadan Kaje*, G. Tsofuwa, Rumfa, Kafo, Zagwon, *Fadiya*

Kaje
Hausa MS12

K
612 and points out that with the " Baintso and Bainduang exogamy is
621 breaking down ". A further report in 1932 which was also
614 discovered refers, however, to five clans—Baindon, Baichok, Baibai, Baituran and Kahon. The prefix Bai is, of course, " the men of ". I have used the ancestral name. These correspond respectively with (*ii*), (*i*), (*v*), (*iii*) and (*iv*). There appears now to be a new appearance in Afwun. As, however, these reports refer to clans whereas I refer to " kindreds " there may be no discrepancy at all and the appearance of a new kindred is no more than a development on the lines of Brice-Smith's description. It is a detail which does not affect the general issue.]

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691 87. I was informed that in the case of a land dispute arising
627 in Afana the elders of Afana would try to mediate and settle. They might even attempt to administer the oath on the " drum ". Either disputant would, however, have the right to refuse to take the oath and the matters would then go to the elders of Afwun. There would be no appeal beyond that. The elders of Afwun would administer the oath on the " drum " and the matter would be finally settled. Neither Tsok, Dwan or any other of the kindreds would be consulted. So, it was stated, would each of the six kindreds act. Such matters would not come before the Native Court unless there was an actual ' breach of the peace ', *i.e.*, a fight. In this case the ' breach of the peace ' would be dealt with by the Court. But the cause of the breach—the farm dispute—would still be settled in the customary manner by the tribal elders.

Other tribes.
000 88. In view of the great number of tribes present in the Province it would be impossible to give in detail, without many months of investigation, the precise land tenure system of each tribe. Sufficient has been written to give a general idea of the situation, however, and I have no reason to believe that examination of other areas will reveal any fundamental divergences. The broad pattern is plain. I have made cursory enquiries of members of all indigenous tribes that I have come across and these enquiries confirm the above. Cursory enquiries, however, are apt to be cursory. Confirmation—or refutation—will have to come from Administrative Officers on tour when visiting the various areas, after they have examined the local custom carefully.

HAUSA AREAS

(i) The Hausa Enclaves

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621 89. The Hausa enclaves at Zangon Katab and Kachia may be taken as typical examples of Hausa settlements in pagan areas. The Zangon Katab enclave is described in paragraph 72, that of Kachia is briefly referred to in paragraph 51.

APPENDIX C

KAGORO SOCIAL STRUCTURE

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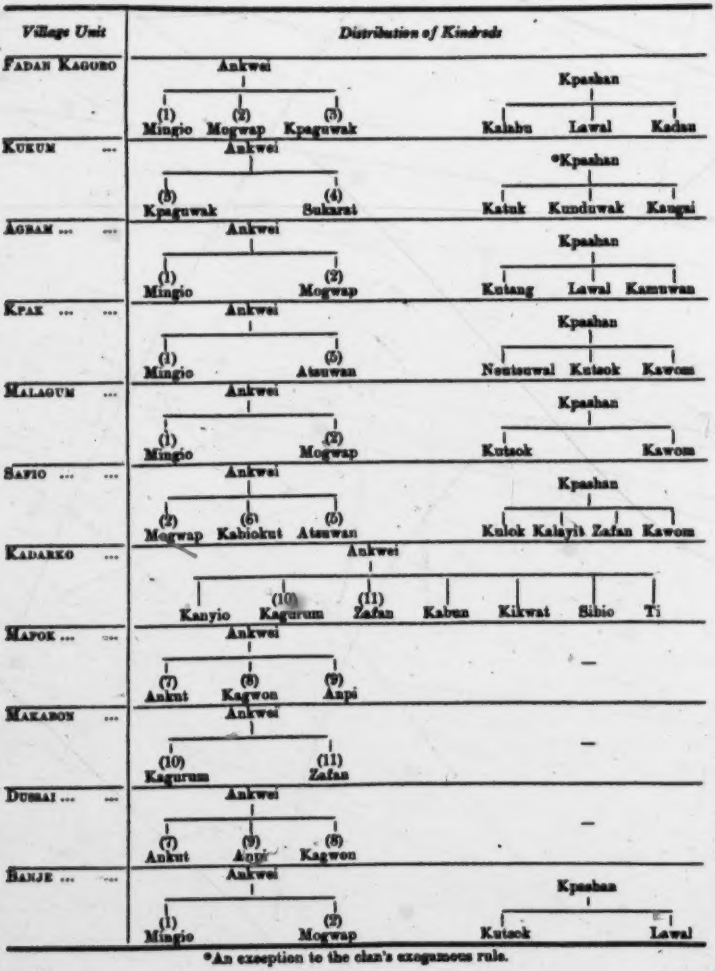

*An exception to the clan's exogamous rule.

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[p. 35]